

Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 AID-05 HA-05 CU-04 /073 W
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P R 231025Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6338
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMCONSUL MEDAN
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMCONSUL SURABAYA
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 1007

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PINS, ID, SOPN
SUBJECT: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDONESIA: UPDATE

REF: JAKARTA 0939 (DTG 210510Z JAN 78)

1. SUMMARY. THE BULK OF THE APPROXIMATELY 100 STUDENTS
ARRESTED OVER THE WEEKEND HAVE BEEN RELEASED AFTER RECEIVING
WARNINGS, BUT THOSE REGARDED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS THE PRIME
TROUBLEMAKERS REMAIN IN DETENTION, PERHAPS FOR SOME TIME .
A FEW OF THE MOST PROMINENT STUDENT DISSIDENTS HAVE REPORTEDLY
SO FAR ELUDED SECURITY FORCES. A SIXTH NEWSPAPER HAS BEEN
BANNED AND TWO OTHERS ARE RUMORED FOR TEMPORARY SHUTDOWN,
BUT IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE BAN MAY BE BRIEF. SEVERAL
SENIOR ARMY LEADERS, RETIRED OR WITHOUT ACTIVE MILITARY
POSITIONS, HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN WARNED TO CEASE
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THEIR ENCOURAGEMENT OF STUDENT DISSIDENTS BUT AT LEAST
ONE, ASEAN SECRETARY GENERAL LT. GEN. DHARSONON, SEEMS
TO HVE REFUSED TO BUCKLE UNDER AND WILL PROBABLY BE
OUSTED SOON. JAKARTA IS QUIET, WITH SMALL MILITARY
UNITS STILL IN EVIDENCE NEAR THE MAJOR CAMPUSES, SEALING
THEM OFF AND KEEPING STUDENTS NOW INSIDE FROM LEAVING.
A FEW ARRESTS HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN BANDUNG, JOGJAKARTA

AND SURABAYA, BUT STUDENT FORCES THERE ARE PROBABLY LARGELY INTACT. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT REPORTEDLY BELIEVES THE NEXT FEW DAYS MAY BE CRITICAL, AND EMOTIONS WILL THEN COOL, WE BELIEVE THE VOLATILE PERIOD WILL PROBABLY LAST AT LEAST THROUGH THE MPR SESSION. IN THIS EMOTION PACKED SITUATION FURTHER CONFRONTATIONS AND PERHAPS BLOODSHED ARE QUITE POSSIBLE.
END SUMMARY.

2. VARIOUS SOURCES HAVE REPORTED THAT 85-90 PERCENT OF THE 100-PLUS STUDENTS ARRESTED IN JAKARTA OVER THE WEEKEND WERE FREED BY SECURITY OFFICIALS AFTER SEVERAL HOURS OF INTERROGATION AND STERN WARNING. AMONG THOSE REPORTEDLY ARRESTED AND RELEASED WERE THE BULK OF THE STUDENT COUNCILS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA (UI), THE CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA (UKI), THE JAKARTA TEACHER'S TRAINING INSTITUTE (IKIP) AND MUHAMMIDIYAH UNIVERSITY, THE LATTER THE SCENE OF HALF THE ARRESTS, WHEN TROOPS INADVERTANTLY CAME UPON A DEMONSTRATION IN PROGRESS. AT LEAST TWO MALARI DETAINEES, HARIMAN SIREGAR AND BAMBANG SOELESTOMO, WERE ALSO DETAINED, BUT THEIR CURRENT STATUS IS UNCLEAR. THE ARRESTS WERE APPARENTLY WELL-PLANNED AND TIGHTLY CONTROLLED, WITH A NUMBER OF THE PROMINENT DISSIDENTS BEING PICKED UP SIMULTANEOUSLY AT THEIR RESPECTIVE HOMES AND WITH SECURITY FORCES, ACCORDING TO A REPORT FROM THE AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, CONFIDENTIAL

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UNDER ORDER NOT TO LOAD THEIR WEAPONS, TO AVOID ANY ACCIDENTAL BLOODSHED.

3. ACCORDING TO A CISIS SOURCE (HARRY TJAN), HARDCORE STUDENT LEADERS STILL DETAINED WILL MOST LIKELY STAY IN JAIL SOME TIME, PERHAPS THROUGH THE MPR SESSION, TO KEEP STUDENTS OF BALANCE AND DISORGANIZED. CSIS-ER LIM BIAN KIE AND OTHER SOURCES TELL US SECURITY FORCES ARE STILL LOOKING FOR UI STUDENT COUNCIL CHAIRMAN LUKMAN HAKIM, AND HIS ITB COUNTERPART IS APPARENTLY ALSO AT LARGE.

4. LIM ALSO TOLD US THAT THE STUDENTS' ARREST WAS NECESSARY TO PREVENT THE EVOLUTION OF A "THAILAND SITUATION" AND TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE MILITARY WAS NEITHER A PAPER TIGER NOR DISUNITED. TWO ITB STUDENT ACTIVISTS HAVE GIVEN US AN ACCOUNT OF STUDENT PLANS WHICH WOULD SUBSTANTIATE IN PART LIM'S FEAR OF A MAJOR CONFRONTATION. ACCORDING TO THE STUDENTS, STUDENT COUNCILS IN BANDUNG, JAKARTA AND PERHAPS OTHER PRINCIPAL CITIES HAD PLANNED SIMULTANEOUS MARCHES OF GROUPS OF TWO TO THREE HUNDRED STUDENTS ON SATURDAY, JANUARY 21,

WHICH WERE TO AVOID DIRECT PROVOCATION OF SECURITY FORCES AND TEST THE STUDENT LEADERS ABILITY TO MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE FOR LARGER ACTIONS IN THE FUTURE. OUR STUDENT SOURCES CLAIMED THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST CONCERTED ACTION BY VARIOUS STUDENT BODIES AND MARKED AN END TO CAMPUS RIVALRIES WHICH HAD PLAGUED THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE PAST.

5. ANOTHER PAPER WAS ADDED TO THE LIST OF THOSE TEMPORARILY BANNED, THE SMALL CIRCULATION, SENSATIONALIST SINAR PAGI. TWO OTHER DAILIES, THE CRIME-AND-SEX LADEN (AND HENCE HIGH CIRCULATION) POS KOTA AND ITS AFTERNOON COMPANION POS SORE ARE, BY SOME ACCOUNTS, SOON TO BE BANNED AS WELL (THOUGH LIM BIAN KIE DENIED THIS).
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A GROUP OF THE MOST PROMINENT INDONESIAN JOURNALISTS, FROM PAPERS BOTH BANNED AND STILL ACTIVE, PRESENTED A PETITION TODAY TO KOPKAMTIB ASKING THE BAN TO BE LIFTED SOON, AND THERE ARE SIGNS THAT IT MIGHT BE. ACTING INFORMATION MINISTER SUDHARMONO ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY THAT PUBLISHING PERMITS FOR THE BANNED PAPERS HAVE NOT YET BEEN REVOKED (THEIR RESTORATION COULD TAKE A LONG TIME BUREAUCRATICALLY) AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE SITUATION WOULD SOON PERMIT THE PAPERS TO BEGIN PUBLICATION ANEW. THE EDITOR OF THE OUSPOKEN WEEKLY JOURNAL TEMPO, MEANWHILE, TOLD US THAT HE HAS NOT YET RECEIVED ANY WORD ON THE SUSPENSION OF HIS PUBLICATION. HE PLANS AN EDITION THIS WEEK WHICH, HE SAID, COULD CAUSE TROUBLE, BUT HE IS DETERMINED TO GO AHEAD.

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CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

6. THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN TO ARTICULATE ITS OWN CASE. KOPKAMTIB CHIEF OF STAFF ADMIRAL SUDOMO, ANNOUNCING THAT STUDENT COUNCIL ACTIVITIES WOULD BE BANNED IN INDONESIA FOR THE FORSEEABLE FUTURE, CITED THE PERIL TO NATIONAL STABILITY OF RECENT STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND SAID THEY COULDN'T BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE. SUDOMO ALSO MET WITH THE EDITORS OF JAKARTA'S NEWSPAPERS AND PLANS A MEETING WITH THE RECTORS OF INDONESIA'S UNIVERSITIES AND WITH THE LEADERS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES, TO EXPLAIN THE GOVERNMENT ACTION AND ISSUE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FUTURE. TOMORROW THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT WILL HAVE A BRIEFING FOR THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY TO EXPLAIN THE SITUATION.

7. JAKARTA IS AWASH WITH RUMORS ABOUT THE ARREST OR "CALLING IN" OF A NUMBER OF SENIOR ARMY LEADERS EITHER
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RETIRED OR WITHOUT ACTIVE MILITARY POSITIONS, WHO HAVE RECENTLY BEEN SUSPECTED OF ENCOURAGING STUDENT DIS-
SIDENCE. ACCORDING TO LIM BIAN KIE, FOUR SUCH GENERALS HAVE BEEN "VISITED" BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES, WHO SOUGHT EXPLANATIONS FOR THEIR ALLEGED PAST ACTIVITIES AND ASSURANCES THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES WOULDN'T RECUR. THREE OF THEM -- RETIRED ARMY COMMANDER GEN.NASUTION, FORMER SILIWANGI LEADER LT. GEN. KEMAL IDRIS AND FORMER JAKARTA GOVERNOR LT. GEN. ALI SADIKIN -- RECANTED IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER FOR THEIR PAST ACTIONS AND AGREED TO REMAIN SILENT. THE FOURTH, FORMER SILIWANGI COMMANDER AND CURRENT ASEAN SECRETARY GENERAL LT. GEN. DHARSONO, DUG IN HIS HEELS, REITERATED HIS BASIC DISAGREEMENT WITH ASPECTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY AND REFUSED TO PROMISE TO BEHAVE. LIM (AND OTHERS) REPORT HE WILL BE SHORTLY RECALLED FROM HIS ASEAN POST AND RETIRED FROM THE ARMY (BUT WILL NOT BE DETAINED).

8. JAKARTA IS QUIET. SMALL MILITARY UNITS REMAIN IN

EVIDENCE AT THE MAJOR UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES, WHERE THEY ARE REPORTEDLY SEALING OFF THE PREMISES TO ANY VISITORS. STUDENTS STILL INSIDE AT UI (AND ALSO AT ITB) ARE APPARENTLY MIRRORING THE SECURITY FORCES, TRYING TO SEAL THE CAMPUS GATES TO DENY FUTURE ENTRY TO THE TROOPS. DESPITE PERSISTENT RUMORS ABOUT MPENDING DEMONSTRATIONS AT ONE OR ANOTHER OF JAKARTA'S CAMPUSES, NONE HAVE IN FACT TAKE PLACE SINCE EARLY SATURDAY MORNING. SEVERAL SOURCES REPORT THAT THE STUDENTS WERE SURPRISED BY THE SWIFT GOVERNMENT MOVE AND ARE AT LEAST TEMPORARILY OFF BALANCE AND DISPIRITED. BANDUNG (WHERE AT LEAST FOUR WERE ARRESTED FRIDAY NIGHT), JOGJAKARTA (AT LEAST FIVE ARRESTED) AND SURABAYA ARE SIMILARLY QUIET.

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9. COMMENT. DESPITE THE OUTWARD QUIET, THE SITUATION REMAINS VOLATILE. ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS, THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THE NEXT FEW DAYS, WHEN THE DISSIDENTS ARE AT THEIR EMOTHIONAL PEAK AND THEIR REACTIONS ARE LEASE PREDICTABLE, MAY BE THE MOST CRITICAL. AFTER THAT, BY THIS ANALYSIS, TENSIONS MAY ABATE A BIT.

10. WE ARE NOT THAT OPTIMISTIC. THE GOVERNMENT MOVE WAS A RISKY ONE WHICH PROBABLY, ON BALANCE, LESSENERED THE CHANCES OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS BY DISRUPTING STUDENTS PLANNING AND CONVINCING SOME DISSIDENTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS SERIOUS. ONE-THELESS, WE EXPECT TENSION TO REMAIN HIGH THROUGH THE MPR SESSION, WHATEVER THE DISPOSITION OF THE CASES OF THOSE DETAINED AND THE DECISION ON PRESS RE-OPENINGS. SOME STUDENT LADERS REMAIN, OR ARE AGAIN, AT LARGE (ESPECIALLY IN BANDUNG), THE STUDENTS ARE EMOTIONALLY CHARGED AND THERE ARE SOME SINGS OF IRRITATION AMONG THE BROADER NON-ACTIVIST STUDENT POPULATION ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT CRACKDOWN. WITH THE GOVERNMENT ADAMANT ABOUT PREVENTING FUTURE DEONSTRATIONS, AND WITH SOME STILL POSSIBLY WILLING TO RISK THEM, THE DANGER OF CONFRONTATION AND (PERHAPS ACCIDENTAL) BLOODY INCIDENT REMAINS.
MASTERS

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Message Attributes

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